

Steelworkers Will Fight—Willard Shelton

THE *Nation*

May 24, 1952

Germany: Last Chance *A British Quaker Views Our Policy*

BY GERALD BAILEY

✱

Warren of California *A Study in Political Growth*

BY HERBERT L. PHILLIPS

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Norway's Little Point Four *Small Country, Big Plan*

MAY 22 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Mormons and the Negro

St. Paul, Minn.

ACCORDING to Mormon theology the status of the Negro on earth was determined in the "pre-existent" state, specifically in the War in Heaven (Revelation 12:4, 7). As everyone knows, Lucifer rebelled and was "cast down," taking with him one-third of the hosts of Heaven. These are the sons of perdition. Michael clearly had a majority with him, some more active supporters than others. Although I can find no Scriptural basis for it, I have heard it said that the *active* pro-Michael group was no more than one-third. The other third "sat on the fence," refusing to take sides. The latter, in the Mormon lore of my boyhood days, was identified as the Negro. This places him in a sort of never-never land, a twilight zone between the Satanic hosts and those who were ready to be counted on the side of Michael. Thus the blessings of the Mormon Church cannot be extended to anyone with Negro "blood."

This unfortunate policy of the church is a source of embarrassment and humiliation to thousands of its members (the writer among them) who find no basis for it in the teachings of Jesus, whom all Mormons accept as the Saviour. The issue has become increasingly important as members of the church outside of Utah and adjacent states have increased rapidly in recent years and are brought into direct contact with Negroes, and who see their fellow-Christians engaged in programs to reduce racial prejudice—programs in which they cannot fully participate. Such persons would like to see the policy altered in the interest of peace and simple humanitarianism.

The doctrine of white-race superiority, so much the vogue in the early nineteenth century when Mormonism had its beginning, has been so thoroughly debunked as to catalogue its adherents today as either grossly uninformed or victims of traditional irrational prejudices, or both. Mormons as a group are not ignorant people; they rank high in formal schooling, with an extraordinarily high proportion of college graduates. Many of them naturally find it difficult to reconcile what they learn in college

about racial differences and equalities with the stand taken by their church. Curiously the position of the church on the Negro does not carry over to other racial groups. Natives of the South Seas, Mongolians, and American Indians are given a clean bill of health. And Mormons, according to their theology, regard the Jews as their own kin! The doctrine, however, does not mean there is no anti-Semitism among Mormons, but that is another problem.

The basic question remains as to whether the church will modify its present stand on this matter. Perhaps a more important question is, *can* it change? Theoretically the church has a means by which its doctrines may be modified. It was founded upon the idea of "progressive revelation," that as God spoke to the people in Bible days, so He continues to do today through the head of the church. An announcement *ex cathedra* on this question would be accepted by the body of the church; joyfully by some although, no doubt, reluctantly by others. It is recognized, of course, that it is very difficult for a religion based upon revelation to modify its doctrines, but few other denominations have the procedures for change that the Mormon church has. The leaders of this church are men of good will. It is difficult to believe that deep in their own hearts they are not troubled by the ethical problem which this bit of dogma presents.

A very real difficulty is the fact that those who disapprove the church's attitude have no way of expressing their point of view. It is safe to say that most of the one million members give passive assent to the present policy. For most of those living in Utah and adjacent states the Negro question is academic; they hardly ever see Negroes, much less live in the same community with them. In any case, they would find comfortable agreement with the white-supremacy idea because of latent historical prejudices which they share with so many other white people. However, my knowledge of the deep humanitarianism of the Mormon people leads me to think that if the question could be openly discussed they would line up on the side of justice.

Such open discussion, especially in print, however, is a perilous undertaking for any member. It automatically leaves him open to the charge of "disobedience to constituted authority" which may lead to his being excommunicated. The upshot is that discussions by interested persons are largely sub rosa. So widespread are such discussion groups that they might be said to constitute a "Mormon underground." The participants are not disloyal church members; rather they are generally active in the church and rationalize their conduct by weighing the many admirable features of their religion against the features with which they disagree.

In writing this article for publication the author does so in a spirit of constructive criticism and in the conviction that his church, with so many admirable qualities and achievements to its credit, is faced by a challenge to place itself alongside those other groups which are laboring against racial bigotry.

LOWRY NELSON

[The writer is a lifelong member of the Mormon Church.]

Bevan Symposium

The Nation will present in an early issue a symposium on Aneurin Bevan's important book, *In Place of Fear*. Among the contributors will be Stringfellow Barr of the University of Virginia, author of *Let's Join the Human Race*; Carrol Binder of the Minneapolis Tribune; Palmer Hoyt, editor and publisher of the Denver Post; Benjamin Javits, author of *How the Republicans Can Win* in 1952; Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A.; Howard K. Smith, Columbia Broadcasting System's European correspondent and a Nation staff contributor, and James P. Warburg, author of *How to Co-Exist* and many other books.

Aneurin Bevan, leader of Britain's left-wing Labor faction, is one of the most colorful political figures in the world today. His book, particularly the sections on foreign policy, is perhaps the most controversial of the year.

THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

The West's Answer

That the Western powers took five weeks to compose and send their answer to the last Soviet offer on Germany does not necessarily mean, as the Russians charge, that they were merely stalling for time. The note must have been a ticklish one to compose, since it had to prove the unprovable and untrue: namely, that the Western Big Three were ready to support German unification brought about through free elections and that, in rejecting the Soviet demand for German neutrality, they were not merely expressing their own determination to integrate West Germany, willy-nilly, in the Atlantic Defense Community. The note was thus necessarily weak, even though it made certain concrete proposals for insuring the freedom of all-German elections and proclaimed a willingness to start talks with the Russians.

But what would the Big Four talk about? The real stumbling block in the way of serious negotiations was pointed out by the *London Times* last week: "Russia clearly would not accept a united Germany that was already included in the Western Alliance." The reaction to the note in East Germany and Russia has emerged in a series of dark warnings of civil war and threats of reprisal. In West Germany the Social Democrats have formally voted to reject the contractual agreement.

The only hope of a compromise solution—a rather feeble hope—seems to lie in the suggestion made by the *London Times*, and echoed by French Foreign Minister Schuman, that the accord between Bonn and the West, presumably to be signed this week, should not be ratified until after new four-power talks have been held. "As long as there is no ratification there is no *fait accompli*," said M. Schuman, "and the Russians will have an opportunity to make unification proposals." It is to be noted, however, that this suggestion has received no encouragement from either Moscow or Washington.

Truman's A. D. A. Speech

Delegates to the Americans for Democratic Action convention in Washington seem to have enjoyed listening to the President's speech almost as much as he enjoyed delivering it. But read in cold type a day later it was not as effective as it must have sounded. For ex-

ample, the ribbing of certain A. D. A. leaders for having supported Eisenhower in 1948 was amusing and deserved; but, on second thought, one recalls that Mr. Truman once announced that he, too, would support the General for President. The do-or-die commitment to civil-rights deserved the applause it received, but the President is well aware that the chairman of the Democratic National Committee has been trying for the last two months to work out a "compromise" with the Dixiecrats on this issue. In taking a lusty poke at the tide-lands-oil swindle—"robbery in broad daylight"—the President put General Eisenhower on the spot, but he did not succeed in diverting attention from the scandals of his own Administration. Democrats have, moreover, promoted this swindle as actively as Republicans. Again, the President pointed to "the terrible dangers that lie in wait for us if we surrender to McCarthyism and adopt the practice of guilt by association." But guilt by association became the law of the land with the Supreme Court's decision upholding the Feinberg law. And even the Feinberg law provides that organizations cannot be listed as "subversive" without a hearing—which is more than can be said of the President's own Loyalty Order.

Despite these inconsistencies, the President's speech will make effective campaign material if only for the reason that the Republicans will not be in a position to exploit its major weaknesses. As the President said, you can always count on the Republicans to make it perfectly clear before the campaign is over that they are the party of big business.

Norway's Unique Plan

We call to the special attention of our readers the short piece by Erling Bjøl, entitled *Norway's Little Point Four*, which appears on page 500 of this issue. The generosity and unique social conscience of the Norwegian people have become proverbial; that they should have initiated the project described will surprise no one. More important, as the author implies, is the example that might be set. Relatively poor Norway, with a population of only little more than 3,000,000, is undertaking to raise \$3,000,000 to help modernize an "adopted" backward area in the world. How much could the United States raise? For that matter, how much could be raised by New York State, with more than four times Norway's population, or New York City, with more than twice?

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We can, of course, see complications arising from any attempt to apply the plan in widespread fashion. Still, Mr. Bjol's article is both heartwarming and—to say the least—provocative. It's interesting that much the same suggestion was advanced the other day by Murray D. Lincoln, president of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., who said that our own Point Four program should be supplemented by the "combined best efforts of all our schools and churches, our trade and professional associations, labor unions, and farm and consumer co-operatives."

We'd like to hear from our readers on the subject.

Pentagon vs. Labor

The reports of Jacob S. Potofsky, Frank Rosenblum, and Hyman Blumberg to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention in Atlantic City bear out phases of Keith Hutchison's analysis of the slump in the textile industry [*The Nation*, May 3 and 10]. Seeking "the cheap bid," the Pentagon has been awarding huge contracts to non-union Southern textile mills, many of which have been subsidized by Southern communities. These short-sighted procurement procedures violate the government's declared labor policy by encouraging the growth of non-union plants in the South and, at the same time, undercutting the position of once prosperous textile manufacturing communities in other areas.

In order to stop these practices, the Amalgamated demands the establishment of a civilian procurement agency composed of government, labor, and industry representatives. Special emphasis is given to this recommendation by the recent majority report of a Senate subcommittee on "Labor-Management Relations in the Southern Textile Industry" which points out that the extent and effectiveness of the opposition to labor in the Southern textile industry is of "unbelievable" proportions. The Pentagon's procurement policies undoubtedly bear large responsibility for this situation. But before these policies can be effectively changed, something must be done about the unholy alliance of Republicans and Dixiecrats which, although representing a minority of the nation, now wields the power of a majority in Congress.

Malan's New Threat

In the midst of his campaign to torpedo the South African constitution, Prime Minister Malan has turned to blast the British government for refusing to yield to his tender mercies the three native protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. "No free sovereign country," he declared in Parliament, "would allow a position where territories within its borders are controlled by another country." Malan gave notice that next year he would present a formal demand for incorporation of the protectorates within the union.

This move points up the futility of the appeasement policies pursued by Whitehall, for instance in the case of Seretse Khama, who was deprived of his hereditary chieftainship of the Bamangwato, largest of the Bechuanaland tribes, following his marriage to a white girl. Now that a delegation of Bamangwato elders has forced Lord Salisbury, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, to admit that this exclusion is strongly opposed by the tribe, it is clear that the real reason for the action was an over-tender regard for the South African taboo against mixed marriages.

It does not follow, we hope, that the British government will yield to Malan's new demand. For the most solemn pledges have been repeatedly made to the native inhabitants of the protectorates—their white population is negligible—that their status will not be changed without their consent. In view of the South African government's treatment of its own natives, it is inconceivable that such consent would be forthcoming. Nor do we think that British opinion, disturbed by the fascist overtones of South African nationalism, would stand for coercion of the Bechuana, Basuto, and Swazis should they ask for the continued protection of the British Crown.

Congressional Censors

Add two more to the roster of pending Congressional inquiries. With only 31 of 435 members present, Congress approved H. R. 278, drafted by Congressman E. C. Gathings of West Memphis, Arkansas, and sponsored by Congressman William Meyers Colmer of Pascagoula, Mississippi, authorizing a commerce subcommittee to "determine the extent to which radio and television programs . . . contain immoral or otherwise offensive matter or place improper emphasis upon crime, violence, and corruption." At the same time Congress also approved H. R. 596, offered by the same members, calling for the appointment of a committee of nine members to "determine the extent to which current literature—books, magazines, and comic books—containing immoral, obscene, or otherwise offensive material, or placing improper emphasis on crime, violence, and corruption, are being made available to the people of the United States."

While both resolutions purport to deal with "immoral" and "obscene" material—Congressman J. R. Bryson of Greenville, South Carolina complained that "beautiful ladies on TV shows have been demonstrating techniques for pouring cocktails"—the texts are so vague as to be almost completely meaningless and apparently give the committees dangerously wide powers of investigation. Moreover the manner in which the word "corruption" is used in both resolutions lays Congress open to the suspicion that it wants to crack down on programs and printed material calling attention to the

widespread dishonesty which is such a conspicuous feature of contemporary American society and government.

These latest investigations are certain to be used further to restrict freedom of thought and expression rather than to improve the undoubtedly low moral standard of our mass-entertainment media.

Franco's Worries

Our information from Spain indicates two concurrent developments: Franco's determination to capitalize on the recent visit to the Arab countries of Martin Artajo, his foreign minister, and the increasing deterioration of the domestic situation. The two are connected, for the dictator needs a spectacular success in foreign policy as a weapon against his domestic opposition.

The presence in Madrid of the Regent of Iraq emphasizes Franco's play for the Arabs. Franco's goal would seem to be the formation of a powerful Arab-Latin American bloc in the United Nations which would back Spain's admission into the world body at the propitious moment. That moment would come when a way could be found to circumvent the Soviet veto on new members. Japan first—and then Spain.

Domestically, Franco faces growing opposition from the three groups which put him in power: the church, the Falange, and the army. Cardinal Segura and his followers are attacking him openly. Schism among the Falangists is indicated by the fact that the dictator has ousted Colonel Luis Serrano de Pablo, a Nationalist civil-war hero, from the National Council of the Falange Party. As for the army, widespread dissatisfaction is reported because Franco, in a gesture of friendship towards the Arabs, is elevating native military chiefs in Morocco at the expense of veteran Spanish officers.

The Anvil of Policy

Speakers at the Stanford University Alumni conference held in San Francisco recently apparently agree with J. Alvarez del Vayo on the necessity of "Speaking Out on Foreign Policy" [*The Nation*, May 17]. "Scurrilous attacks on the State Department by a horde of witch-hunting fanatics," to quote Professor Graham H. Stuart, "have endangered our capacity to make wise decisions on foreign policy." "For the first time in our national history," said Dr. Harold H. Fisher, chairman of the Hoover Institute, "it is a political virtue to be afraid . . . we are encouraging fear of each other." On the same day, Governor Adlai Stevenson told the members of San Francisco's Commonwealth Club: "These contemporary exponents of irresponsible accusation and guilt by association can do us more grievous injury than all the miserable thieves and opportunists that foul the public nest. We have all witnessed the stifling, choking effect of

Irresponsible witch-hunting, the paralysis of initiative, the hesitancy and intimidation that follow in its wake and inhibit the bold, imaginative thought and discussion which is the anvil of public policy."

Anti-Union Offensive

FOR nearly nine years reactionaries in Congress have been giving aid and comfort to the anti-union forces of big industry. They passed the Smith-Connally war-time disputes act over President Roosevelt's veto in 1943 and the Taft-Hartley law over President Truman's veto in 1947. Now they are aiming a double-barreled blow at labor by threatening to destroy the Wage Stabilization Board's authority to handle disputes and by threatening, further, to pass the drastic injunction-receivership bill sponsored by Representative Smith of Virginia.

The Smith bill is so violent an attack on trade unions and their operation during any kind of emergency that unions for practical purposes would cease to exist. It provides, in effect, for permanent injunctions against strikes. If a dispute were not settled in eighty days after a crisis arose—and a strike would be forbidden during those eighty days—both the industry and the union involved would be thrown into "receivership." "Receivers" for the company would be forbidden to change the wages and working conditions of the employees; the union, for its part, would be forbidden to quit work, and it would be unlawful for "anyone" to instigate or give guidance or direction to a work stoppage.

The "receivers" for the company would not be forbidden to raise prices or increase profits. The actual managers of the company, therefore, would have no incentive whatever to settle any dispute with the workers. The union would be robbed of its only economic weapon—the threat to interfere with production and profits—and the company would be permanently sustained with a guarantee that the union was helpless.

Smith of Virginia knows exactly what he is aiming at in this bill. He did not dare try to put it through the Labor committees of Congress even though the House Labor Committee is headed by Representative Barden of North Carolina, whose lack of sympathy for unions is notorious. Smith offered his bill as an amendment to measures now pending on universal military training and service so that jurisdiction would be in the hands of the Armed Services committees. He is basing his bill on the theory that drafting men for forced labor for the private profit of private employers is as much within the domain of Congress as drafting them for military service for the country. The theory is wrong, and Chairman Carl Vinson of the House Armed Services Committee has indicated that he recognizes it. But until it is beaten into utter defeat the Smith bill will remain a menace.

Scarcely less serious, however, is the drive of big in-

dustry to kill the Wage Stabilization Board as it now exists, to destroy its organization as a tripartite board with industry, labor, and the public equally represented, and to rob any new board of the power to handle disputed cases between unions and companies and to recommend settlements. The immediate offensive arises from the WSB's proposed settlement of the steel case, but this is merely an expedient: big industry was opposed, more than a year ago, to letting the WSB have authority to handle disputes or make recommendations on so-called "non-economic" issues such as the union shop. With newspaper editorialists almost unanimously supporting the steel companies, parroting the industry's misrepresentations and lies, ignoring the protests of WSB Chairman Feinsinger, Economic Director Putnam, and Price Stabilizer Arnall, Congress seems at last ready to give industry what it wants.

The unions are no happier than the companies about the general idea of government intervention to settle wage disputes: they greatly prefer the processes of collective bargaining. But if free collective bargaining is inhibited for a period of years, because the country cannot accept strikes in important industries, then some substitute must be created. What substitute can there be except a government board with power to recommend settlements?

In the long run, the recommendations of this board must be generally acceptable to both parties in industrial disputes—to both management and labor. That is why the board should be a tripartite group, with management and unions equally represented along with "public" members who are experienced in the field of industrial relations. The suggestion that the board should be composed exclusively or even predominantly of "public" members is unrealistic and naive. The steel industry in 1946 turned down proposals of a special board composed entirely of "public" members, just as this year it has turned down the recommendations of a tripartite board. Within the field of wage stabilization, when the whole country is involved, compromise and adjustment are needed, and these cannot be obtained without the voluntary participation of unions and management. We are not dealing with a dictatorial system: there must be a degree of voluntarism and consent even when the WSB's "recommendations" carry moral obligation. The tripartite War Labor Board worked brilliantly during World War II; a tripartite Wage Stabilization Board can work equally well now—if Congress can be persuaded not to give all the advantage to the side of industry.

CORRECTION

In last week's editorial, *Freedom's Stake*, the phrase "formerly independent" as applied to the Middle Eastern states, should have read "formally independent."

Germany: Last Chance to Negotiate

BY GERALD BAILEY

London

I HAVE recently returned from a mission of exploration to Western Germany in behalf of Quaker groups in Britain and the United States to encourage agreements between the Soviet Union and the West and thereby to lessen international tensions and strengthen the hope of a more stable peace. It was this purpose, among others, which took the British Quaker delegation to Moscow last year and which has animated the work of the international teams of Quaker observers in the last two sessions of the United Nations Assembly. The crucial relation of the German question to the possibilities of an East-West settlement warranted an attempt to study on the spot the urgent problems of Germany unity and remilitarization.

In a crowded fortnight I had conversations with a number of groups directly concerned with these issues as well as with many political and religious leaders and other representative persons. Among others, I talked with ministers and deputies of the Christian Democratic Union (the major government party); the deputy leader and other parliamentary members of the opposition Social Democratic Party; the president of the *Bundestag*; Ernst Reuter, the Lord Mayor of West Berlin; Martin Niemöller, recently returned from Moscow; Bishop Dibelius, who proudly claims that he is one of the few people able to send birthday greetings to the presidents of both the East and West German republics; and last but not least, the two courageous leaders of the popular movement against rearmament and for German unity and European peace, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, former Home Minister in the Adenauer government, and Mrs. Helene Wessel, deputy of the Center Party. I had the privilege of talking also with John J. McCloy, the United States High Commissioner; and at what might be called the other extreme, I spent two hours with the officers of the Communist-controlled German Peace Committee in the east sector of Berlin.

The adage, "so many men, so many opinions," or at least so many shades of opinion, aptly fits the German scene today. And indeed the confusion and uncertainty of the political outlook deepened even during the few weeks I spent in Germany. When my visit there began

about five weeks ago there was, despite the unsettling influence of the Russian notes, a confident if somewhat optimistic assumption among West German and Western government officials that within a short time the general treaty between the Bonn government and the Western Big Three would be signed, together with the agreement establishing (at any rate on paper) a German contribution to the European Defense Community. The treaty and the agreement may still be signed—though to sign is one thing and to ratify is another and the gap between theoretical and actual German military formations may be wider still. But as the moment for signing has approached, hesitations inside and outside Germany have increased and enough difficulties have now accumulated, if not to imperil Western plans, at least to delay their implementation and certainly to make necessary a realistic review of Western strategy.

The more technical difficulties, such as the apportionment of defense costs between Germany and the Western powers, can be resolved quite easily, given the will to resolve them. But there exist more fundamental and tenacious difficulties which directly involve the whole question of an East-West settlement.

FRENCH fears of German rearmament under any conditions have been increased by German emphasis on the provisional nature of the proposed contractual arrangements. To the French, this means that Germany will consider its membership in the European Defense Community as equally "provisional."

Within Germany, the more the government parties see of the detail of the proposed agreements, the less they like them. Simultaneously, the opposition of the Social Democrats is stiffened by the visible success of Dr. Heinemann's anti-rearmament program and by the support of the British Labor Party, which is now free to question the policies it reluctantly proposed while in office. And there exists, over all, the growing determination of Germans of whatever political persuasion not to be committed to remilitarization and integration with the West until the possibilities of German reunion through Four Power negotiation have been tested.

For though Germans may differ widely on the expedience of this or that method of attaining unity, sovereignty, and independence, they leave no doubt that these must be the central aims of national policy. West Germans do not lie awake nights lamenting the lot of

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their fellows in the Eastern zone. "The dominant note" as the London *Times* said recently, "is for safety first and unity later." But the desire for unity is elemental and strong and the normal German regards the division of his country as abnormal and transient. This is not merely sentiment. Neither East nor West Germany is by itself a viable economic entity and the desire for the normalization of East-West trade, stimulated recently by the reported achievements of the Moscow Economic Conference, will grow steadily with the approach to full sovereignty in the West.

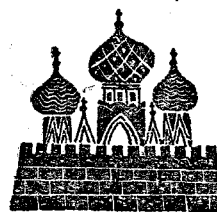
It would be equally misleading to assume that there is a united will to maintain German demilitarization at all costs and in all circumstances. The average German has not been converted to pacifist principles. The Social Democrats who reject rearmament under Adenauer would not necessarily reject it under Schumacher. Gustav Heinemann's Emergency Movement against Rearmament has, of course, pacifist and near-pacifist support, but neither Heinemann himself nor his colleague Helene Wessel is a pacifist. The slogan of their movement is not "no rearmament" but "no rearmament before reunification." Nevertheless this platform is attracting widespread support which reflects not merely an after-war reaction and a justifiable fear of the implications of the rearmament of a divided country, but also a deep desire in many thoughtful Germans to avoid the disasters which reliance upon military might has brought to their country twice in a lifetime.

All Germans, of course, want their sovereignty restored and the foreign occupation ended. Recognizing that their country would be the cockpit of the struggle in the event of war, many Germans want to keep out of both the competing power blocs. But they differ widely as to the practicality of doing so. Those who have no faith in Russian declarations are quick to point out that under a four-power treaty creating an ostensibly free and united Germany, the Red Army would still be on the Polish boundary while the weight of American armed power would be several thousand miles away. Even those who retain a more hopeful view doubt whether neutrality is a workable option for a country so strategically placed—militarily, politically, and economically—as Germany is today, unless there is concurrently a decisive change for the better in great-power relations. They feel not unreasonably that the gravitational pull towards one side or the other would be irresistible.

IN THIS situation, what is the responsibility of those in Britain and the United States whose desire is to see international tension relaxed and the prospects of peace enhanced? What should they demand of Western policy? We have now entered the most critical period of international relations since the war ended. The next six months may provide the last opportunity for moderat-

ing the great-power conflict. And it is in the heart of Europe, around the future of the German people, that the issue is most likely to be decided.

The attempt to integrate the Federal German Republic with the West was made plausible, if not inevitable, by the continuing failure to negotiate a four-power settlement for Germany and specifically by the absence hitherto of any sign of a Russian willingness to make concrete



concessions to this end. But the weakness of Western policy in this matter over the past year is that it has been governed too exclusively by considerations of the cold war. In consequence it has failed to take adequate account not only of the aspirations of the Germans themselves but also of the crucial importance to the Soviet Union of the German question. It was always clear that Moscow would not sit by idly while Germans were rearmed and the Ruhr industrial potential was harnessed to the West. And even before the recent Soviet notes were issued, there were growing indications that the Russians might well pay handsomely for the abandonment of these Western plans. Here was—and here remains—the best chance of a balanced and negotiated agreement between East and West.

Does this mean that Western policy should now be reversed? It may well be reversed by changing political conditions in Germany itself. But in any case the readiness to reverse it, if a valid four-power agreement can be reached, is imposed upon the Western governments by their declared policy of negotiation through strength and by their commitment to German reunion and independence. It may not be possible at this late moment to hold up the actual signing of the contractual arrangements and the defense treaty, though there is always the possibility—so far too lightly regarded in the West—of a sharply hostile Russian reaction, focused perhaps in Berlin, to the signing itself. The forecasts of an open and intensified counter-rearmament in Eastern Germany are not just idle threats. But if the treaties with the Federal Republic are to be signed and the risks of a hostile Russian response are to be minimized, it is absolutely vital that simultaneously the West should show unequivocally its readiness to get around a table with the Russians with the primary purpose of establishing the conditions for genuinely free elections in the whole of Germany. Nothing less than this will prevent a mounting German opposition which would render the treaties abortive even if signed. More important still, nothing less will discharge the obligation of the West to explore every possibility of an agreed settlement not only in the interests of German unity but in the wider interests of a world desperately needing some relief from the threat of war and from the paralyzing burden of war

preparation. For the most dangerous of Western illusions is that the determined pursuit of present policies, coupled with a continued procrastination on the issue of negotiation, will produce further Russian concessions and strengthen the prospects of peace. A contrary estimate might well be nearer the mark.

It is not surprising, after all that has transpired in recent years, that Western governments should take a dim view of the possibilities of ending the cold war and of negotiating valid agreements with the Russians. And it is certainly right that they should insist on a genuine freedom for the whole of Germany, not only during but after elections, as the basic condition of an agreed settlement. But despair is the negation of statesmanship and in this situation the betrayal of the deepest hopes of mankind. "As long as there is one thousandth

of a chance," said George F. Kennan, the new American Ambassador to Moscow, recently "that a major world conflict can be avoided, let us guard that chance like the apple of our eye. Let it not be said that we allowed any hope for the avoidance of war to die by abandonment or neglect."

The best chance that we are likely to have for a long time confronts us now and it is centered in the determination of the German question. But it is not only the chance of avoiding war. Viewed with sufficient imagination and pursued with sufficient courage, it is the chance of transforming the climate of East-West relations, of establishing the United Nations as the guardian of the security and well-being of all peoples, of giving reality to the hopes of disarmament, and of directing the resources of mankind to the purposes of peace.

Warren of California

BY HERBERT L. PHILLIPS

EARL WARREN of California is the only Republican candidate for President who bases his bid for the nomination upon the fundamental contention that the Republican Party must become more progressive or lose the November election, as it has lost every national election since 1928.

Facing the Old Guard of the Republican National Committee, meeting in San Francisco last January 17, Governor Warren stated this position very plainly:

Our party has never had a radical wing, but we have our problems just the same because we do have in it extremists of the Right—those who would freeze our nation to the status quo with whatever inequalities go with it and those who would have our country return to what they look back to nostalgically and affectionately call the good old days.

I believe these extremists of the Right are not as numerous as they are vocal and influential. It is my very deep conviction, however, that, unless there is a forthright repudiation of this thinking by our party, we will suffer again at the hands of the voters. . . .

I am convinced the American people are not Socialists and will not tolerate socialistic government, but they are definitely committed to social progress. Any party which turns its back on social progress will be repudiated by the people.

He then proceeded to document his argument for

This is the fifth of a series of profiles of persons most widely mentioned as possible Presidential candidates. Herbert L. Phillips is political editor of the McClatchey newspapers of California.

Republican liberalism with extensive quotations from the G. O. P. platforms of 1944 and 1948. What the Republican Party must do, he insisted, is practice what it preaches, not just at campaign time but between elections. The American people want a change in national administration, he went on, but they want to know to what they are changing and they will not switch parties simply for the sake of change itself. "The Republican Party," he said, "cannot make its appeal on the basis of invective, ridicule, or negation."

That kind of talk, frequently reiterated this spring and added to several lively battles with special-interest lobbies in the past, has prompted disgruntled factions of the Republican Old Guard in California to set up a rival ticket, headed nominally by an ultra-conservative Congressman, Representative Thomas H. Werdel, for the June 3 Presidential primary. If this seventy-member anti-Warren slate wins over the Governor's ticket, the scheme is to release all California delegates at the convention, allowing them to vote as they please for any of four listed "legitimate" G. O. P. candidates: Taft, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and Stassen. The Old Guard advocates of this proposed "uninstructed" delegation are denouncing Warren as guilty of "Trumanism."

This is a far cry, indeed, from the situation in January, 1943, when Republican Attorney General Warren assumed the California governorship, having unseated Democratic Governor Culbert L. Olson at the previous fall election. It was the fashion in the liberal wing of the defeated Democrats at that time to classify Warren as simply a good-looking, genial stooge for the Republican reactionaries. It was argued that the Old Guard, finally

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awake to its inability to win in California with obvious political hacks, had seized upon the pleasing personality of big, silver-haired Earl Warren as an effective mask for its drive to regain state-government control. According to this reasoning, the reactionaries were in the saddle again, and the progressive goals that Olson had recommended so persistently—but failed to reach—would be abandoned under Warren.

This forecast was drowned out by cries of consternation from the extreme Right, however, when Governor Warren, in the ensuing years, advocated a fair-employment-practices act, reorganized half a dozen major state departments, fought organized medicine in an attempt to establish a public health-insurance program, and obtained liberalization of old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and workmen's-compensation benefits. The medical fraternity—or what Warren calls an "eloquent minority" of it—assailed him as a dangerous sponsor of "socialized medicine." Oil interests reviled him when he demanded gasoline-tax increases to modernize a highway system carrying the largest number of motor vehicles in the nation. He stepped on the toes of other interests when he worked actively for the Central Valley Project—and particularly for publicly owned and operated hydroelectric transmission lines to carry the federally developed cheap power of the CVP. And lobbyists were alienated by his demand for a strong lobby-control act.

Warren did not get all the legislation he wanted, but his stubborn efforts year after year soon convinced the Old Guard that he meant business and was altogether too progressive to have around. Democrats were dubious about this at first, claiming that he was a political phony shrewdly advancing progressivism in order to gain a reputation for liberalism which would be helpful at election time. Then Warren prevailed with a bill that made California the first large state to inaugurate a sickness-and-disability insurance system for working people. (Little Rhode Island was first in this field.) He followed that up with a measure giving hospital-aid benefits to workers. In this program California led the nation.

Meanwhile, California had absorbed in good order something like four million new citizens after Pearl Harbor. State facilities and institutions had to be enlarged to cope with what has been called the greatest peacetime migration in history. Tax rates were cut back below pre-war levels for six years, yet at the same time more than \$400,000,000 was saved for long delayed institutional public works. California became the second largest state of the Union in population with a minimum of growing pains. Inroads by the underworld were combated by a Warren investigating commission on organized crime which antedated Kefauver's national investigations. Not the least interesting thing about the Warren administration, considering the current national rash of exposés of corruption, is the fact that it has

survived for nearly a decade without any major scandal.

That survival itself contained elements of the politically spectacular. Availing himself of California's much discussed practice of cross-filing on more than one party ticket, Warren conducted a "non-partisan" campaign in 1946—and won in the primary. The Democrats nominated him over their own candidate, Attorney General Robert W. Kenny. No California Governor ever before had scored such a victory. Bouncing back after the Republican defeat of 1948, when he served as a reluctant vice-presidential candidate with the overconfident Thomas E. Dewey, Warren tackled James Roosevelt in the 1950 gubernatorial campaign and was elected for a third term—also unprecedented in California—by more than a million votes.



Governor Warren

JUDGED strictly on his achievements, Governor Warren presents an arresting example of the political growth of a man in public office. Yet it is hard to put a finger on the causes of his development from district attorney and attorney general, primarily concerned with law-enforcement problems, to his present stature as one of the most outspoken advocates of progressivism in his party. His independence as Governor has produced painful headaches for conservative G. O. P. machine politicians who had taken it for granted that they would become his close advisers on patronage and his mentors on governmental policy. It turned out that, while Warren was willing to listen to advice, he insisted on making his own decisions. It also turned out that, while he was careful—even cautious—in arriving at a policy judgment, he was willing to stand by it with a stubborn courage which both his political enemies and his would-be handlers found extremely irritating. And what proved more irritating still was the discovery that, though he warmed up to almost everyone with the friendliness of a political extrovert, he appeared to have no cronies who could be depended upon to sway his decisions. If anything, Warren is cursed with an inability to delegate responsibility or authority in vital matters. There has been no palace guard in his Capitol, these last nine years.

When Warren took office in 1943, he surprised a good many people by approaching controversial public questions with what appeared to be an almost complete lack of political ideology. He did not seem impressed by assur-

ances that such-and-such was the liberal stand or that thus-and-so was the reactionary position. He preferred to "pick up the issue by its four corners"—he is certainly no Rooseveltian phrase maker—and judge it after studying all the facts.

As time went on, Warren, along with the rest of the state, seemed to recognize his middle-ground progressive inclinations, and nowadays he refers to them frankly as such. But in his first administration, even in his second, he was sometimes characterized as a master of improvisation. There seemed to be a public disposition, though—reflected at the polls—to regard intelligent improvisation, especially at a time of fluctuating population and economic conditions, as an admirable thing so long as the net result served liberal causes. There were those, too, who claimed that Warren blazed a forward-looking and untried governmental trail only when his personal observations and experiences led him in that direction. "If that is so," commented one observer, "may the good Lord give Warren more experiences."

THIS is Warren's thirty-third consecutive year of public service in California. Attempting to explain his climb from a minor political post in conservative Alameda County in 1919 to the rank of Presidential candidate whooping it up for progressivism—even urging the G. O. P. to absorb Democratic policies when they are sound—interested onlookers have dug into his private, professional, and political background for the answer. They found a devoted family man with a big smile—and a gubernatorial record which the Democratic President calls excellent.

Earl Warren was born in Los Angeles, March 19, 1891. Educated at the University of California, he was a World War I infantry captain. He began political life as a deputy city attorney in Oakland and moved on to deputy district attorney of Alameda County, district attorney, state attorney general, and finally governor. Politically, he has served as Republican state chairman and National Committeeman from California. He has

been married since 1925 and has three boys and three girls. He belongs to a dozen or so clubs, lodges, and fraternities and is a Past Grand Master of Masons in California.

If lifelong progressives find it difficult to explain why Warren turns up so often on their side of public questions, confirmed reactionaries accept the bitter fact that he does and dislike it intensely. Early in this year's pre-campaign Presidential maneuverings a California outfit known as the Partisan Republicans—repudiated, incidentally, even by Senator Taft—began circulating charges that the Democrats and the Communists were in an unholy alliance to build up Warren for the Republican nomination so that the leftists would be in power after the November election even if the Democrats lost. Eisenhower was berated in similar vein.

Warren's political effectiveness in his home state is unique. His support is not organized in the legislature even though both houses have Republican majorities. His success with tough issues is attributed to his willingness to take half a loaf at one session and try for the rest the next year. Warren long since broke with the Herbert Hoover faction of his party. On the big policy objectives which have made him a controversial figure it can be said truthfully that he has neither been backed nor dominated by the Republican State Central Committee or the county-committee leaders.

Warrenites recognize that their man's main chance of obtaining the Presidential nomination depends upon a Taft-Eisenhower deadlock in the convention. As a possible compromise choice in such circumstances, the Californian has been giving his own views of desirable Republican and national policy and largely abstaining from personal attacks on the other G.O.P. political camps to which he might later have to look for support. From his affirmative declarations, however, Warren is poles apart from Taft on both domestic and foreign policy; there is no indication that he takes Stassen any more seriously than the voters appear to be doing. Warren has said that he has no major disagreement with Eisenhower on international affairs, but he has also made it clear that he does not know, and would be highly interested to learn, the General's views on domestic matters.

Meanwhile, the Republican Old Guard misses no opportunity to publicize the fact that President Truman not only has praised Warren as an outstanding governor but on one occasion described him as "a good Democrat who doesn't know it." Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois also had words of praise for him recently. And Walter Reuther was quoted in a press dispatch as calling Warren "enlightened"—so enlightened, he said, that the Republicans will never nominate him.

To this extent probably most politicians will agree: electing Earl Warren to the Presidency would be very much easier than nominating him.

Beyond Comment

Speaking of [radio advertising] copy, Mr. Charles said there is a value in having copy so poor that listeners get sick and tired of hearing it. He explained: "If you hit the nail on the head with a catchy commercial, the whole country is talking about it. If your copy is purposely so poor that listeners can't stand it, they talk about that kind of commercial too. . . . I try to nauseate people," he added laughingly.—*From the magazine Broadcasting.*

[The Nation will pay \$2 for acceptable contributions to Beyond Comment.]

Dilemma in the Sudan

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

BRITAIN seems on the point of being locked in a triangle of its own making. British foreign and imperial policy dearly loves creating triangles, with the possibility of playing one of its two associates off against the other.

It was the danger inherent in the peculiar Anglo-Egyptian-Sudanese situation that caused Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on April 18 to summon to London Sudan's Governor-General Sir Robert Howe and Britain's Ambassador to Egypt Sir Ralph Stevenson. With this expert help Mr. Eden hoped to appease the Egyptians in order to form the top-priority Middle East defense organization without making the Sudanese feel they are being "sold down the river."

Early in April Britain got a foretaste of the difficulties involved in trying simultaneously to side with King Farouk in Egypt and attempting to bar him as nominal sovereign of the Sudan. At the outset, Anglo-Egyptian talks proceeded quickly and the negotiators were edging towards agreement in principle on British evacuation of the Canal Zone and Egypt's participation in a Middle East Defense Pact. Egypt's Prime Minister, Hilaly Pasha, asked Britain for a gesture towards the "unity of the Nile Valley"; specifically, that Farouk's title as "King of Egypt and the Sudan" be accepted, subject to its subsequent ratification by the Sudanese. The British said the Sudanese *could*, if they wanted, accept King Farouk as their monarch when they were self-governing. The negotiators were impelled toward compromise by their mutual fear that the anti-British Wafd would be returned with a stunning majority in the elections, then scheduled for May 18, if the Palace-sponsored Hilaly Pasha government did not score a success in the negotiations.

Then, without any warning, the Sudan's British civil secretary presented a new draft constitution enabling the Sudan to become self-governing this year. The action infuriated all sections of Egyptian opinion, including supporters of the conciliatory Hilaly Pasha government. The Egyptians considered it proof of a British "plot" to establish a nominally independent Sudan governed by the anti-Egyptian Umma Party. Only Britain's "good-will gesture" in releasing an additional 10 million pounds in Egyptian sterling balances and a personal message from

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden enabled talks to begin again. The Egyptian Cabinet, which had thought it could defeat the Wafd if it secured an agreement with Britain, postponed the elections indefinitely, fearing that the Wafd would win a sweeping majority on an "I told you so" platform.

The Sudan's return is as popular an issue to Egyptians as Kashmir is to Pakistan and to Mr. Nehru, or Formosa to the mainland Chinese. For King Farouk it means adding a million square miles—more than the whole of Europe—to his sovereignty; to the pashas it means a new area to loot. And to all Egypt it means controlling the upper reaches of the river on which Egypt completely depends: the Nile.

WINSTON CHURCHILL wrote in *The River War*: "The Sudan is joined to Egypt by the Nile as a diver is connected with the surface by his air pipe. Without it there is only suffocation. *Aut Nilus, aut nihil.*" This was written in 1899, when Britain finished conquering the Sudan in Egypt's name. In order to acquire *de facto* possession of the area for Britain, Lord Cromer—who really ran Egypt from 1883 to 1907—devised the condominium of the "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan." Technically, the Sudan came under the joint sovereignty of Egypt and Great Britain, but in fact the Governor-General and his top officials have been British.

From the outset real power was in Britain's hands; Egypt's early responsibility was chiefly that of paying the annual deficits in the Sudanese budget. As Egyptian nationalism came to life, Britain further reduced Egyptian participation. When, in 1922, Egypt was recognized as "an independent sovereign state" (with defense and foreign interests retained in Britain's hands) Britain insisted on retaining control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as well. In 1924, when Egyptians assassinated Britain's General Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Commander of the Egyptian Army, Britain seized the opportunity to insist on the withdrawal of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan, and the unlimited increase in the use of water for the irrigation of British cotton plantations in the Gezira portion of the Sudan.

These 1924 actions showed the twin bases of Britain's Sudanese policy. By controlling the Sudan, Britain always has the whip hand over Egypt's chief resource, Nile water. "British imperialism in the Sudan," concluded Tom Driberg, leading Laborite M. P., after his recent

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor now stationed in London.

trip there, "has been an indirect imperialism; our presence there . . . has given us a powerful hold on Egypt, a hold which we have kept for other, bigger strategic reasons." The present strategic aim, of course, is to secure Egyptian participation in a Middle East military pact.

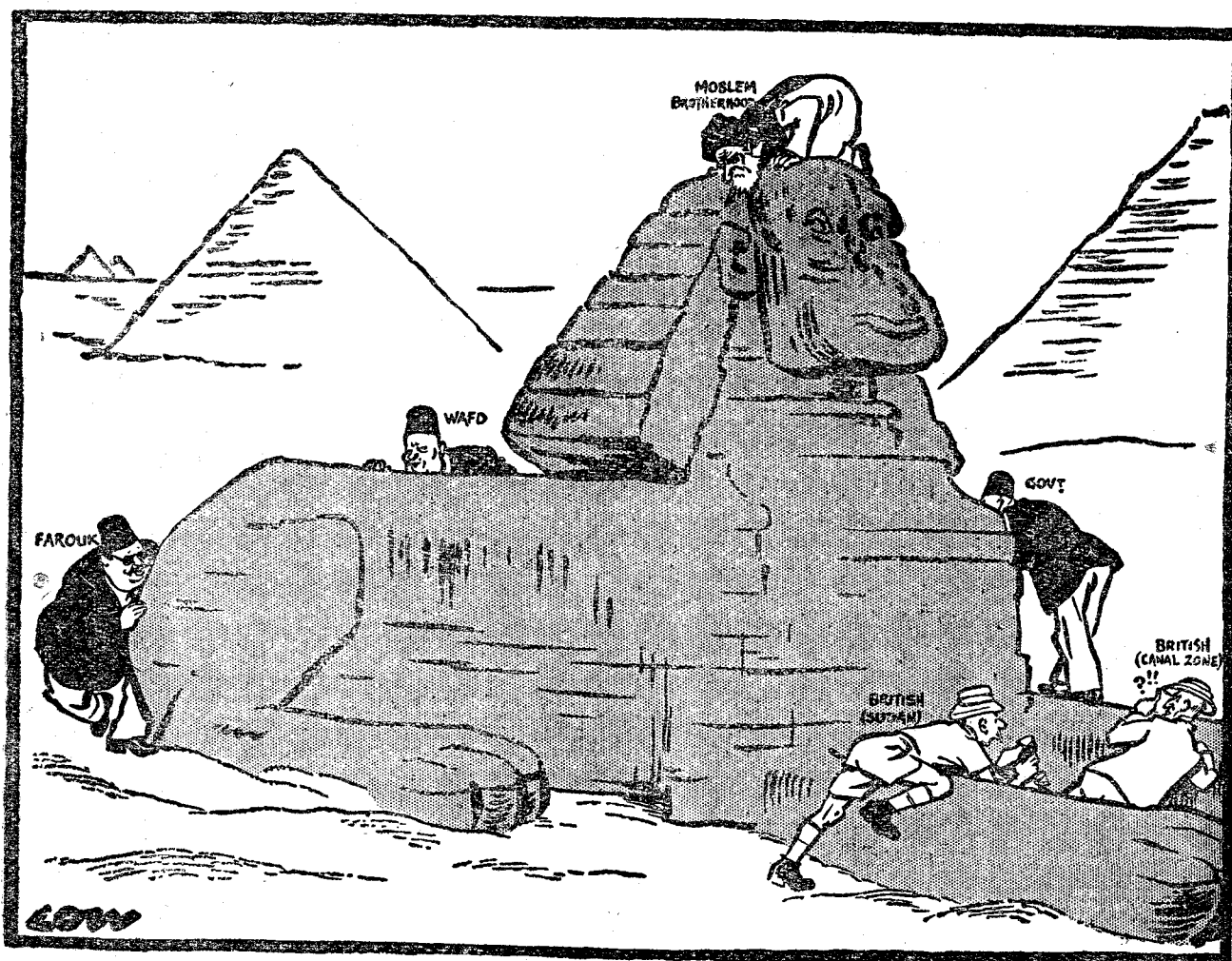
By controlling the Sudan and raising there Egyptian-type cotton, Britain also prevents Egypt from monopolizing the cotton needed for Britain's fine-quality textiles. Commented Malcolm McCorquodale, Conservative M. P. and cotton printer in the November 20, 1951, debate in the House of Commons: "I say without any hesitation that it would be a major tragedy not only for the cotton industry and for employment in that industry in this country but for our whole export trade and our balance of payments, if Sudanese cotton were to come under the same sort of control as Egyptian cotton is at the moment, with the manipulated markets, the wild gambling, the barter to Russia, and all the rest of it."

Britain's objectives in the Sudan have, from the beginning, been overwhelmingly imperial—including the original hope of a Cape-to-Cairo railway. But the *manner* in which the Sudan has been administered has been outstandingly enlightened, albeit paternal. The Sudan has been very fortunate in attracting high quality British

imperial administrators of a kind which inspired the epigram of the late H. A. L. Fisher: "The Sudan, gentlemen, is a large country populated by blacks and governed by Blues."

Their outstanding accomplishment is the "Sudanese TVA"—the famous Gezira project. This 1,000,000-acre cooperative cotton project between the Blue and the White Nile, is the economic heart of the Sudan, providing two-thirds of its exports and virtually the whole of its governmental revenue. The government settled over 25,000 Sudanese families in the area; seeds and technical advice are provided and those families who do not follow the advice are ousted. At the end of the season the crops are cooperatively marketed at world prices. The peasant gets 40 per cent, the Sudan government 40 per cent and the Gezira Board—now nationalized—which manages the project, gets 20 per cent. The Gezira settler is comparatively prosperous.

British administrators have long taken full credit for their achievements in the Sudan. As early as 1912 Lord Kitchener claimed "there is now hardly a poor man in the Sudan." But even today there is plenty of poverty; the Gezira only affects a fraction of the total population of 9,000,000. And the British cannot take much credit on the educational side. Only every seventieth person is



HIDE-AND-SEEK IN EGYPT

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literate; there are scarcely 100 Sudanese with a full university education. Even today, on the eve of self-government, there are only 2,000 students in secondary schools.

Meeting educated Sudanese, one is struck by the fact that they seem the least frustrated of colonial *intelligentsia*. This comes in large part from the fact that the small minority of educated Sudanese have had a full opportunity to participate in administering their country. Fully 85 per cent of the government service is now Sudanized, with only 1,000 Britons left in key positions.

Britain's problem in settling with Egypt over the Sudan is that two generations of British administrators and their Sudanese subordinates have developed an anti-

Egyptian bent which promises trouble if anything but the most nominal suzerainty is accorded King Farouk. British administrators would probably resign *en masse* in protest against their work being despoiled by Egypt's pashas. And the anti-Egyptian Umma Party, which provides most top Sudanese administrators, would react violently against the government—which they have been groomed to inherit—being taken over by the Egyptians and their Sudanese confederates. In short, no matter how willing Britain might be today—or how hard-pressed by the State Department—to appease Egypt to build up the Middle East's anti-Communist defenses, a half-century of triangular politics has its own logic.

Norway's Little Point Four

BY ERLING BJOL

Copenhagen
THE giving of technical assistance to backward areas has been a function of the United Nations for several years now, but action has been sadly limited by the very modest appropriations which have been made available. The current budget is about \$20,000,000, a drop in the bucket compared to the needs, and microscopic when compared with the military budgets of the great powers.

Undoubtedly inspired by Secretary General Trygve Lie, a firm supporter of the idea, Norway has now decided to launch a unique experiment in the field. A group of Labor members of the *Storting*, the Norwegian parliament, has worked out a plan for "adopting" a backward area which would then become the beneficiary of a technical assistance program financed and executed in partnership by the government and the people of Norway.

Supporters of the plan lay stress on the fact that technical assistance should involve the cooperation not only of governments, but of peoples. Thus, under the proposed scheme, Norwegian agricultural organizations would undertake the modernization of agriculture in the "adopted" area, Norwegian teachers and school children would gather educational material and help build schools, Norwegian trade unions would take over the job of improving social conditions, Norwegian engineers would contribute their skill to basic capital improvements.

The area to be adopted has not yet been decided upon, but logic calls for an Asiatic region, mountainous and with unexploited water power and access to the sea, which would present problems of a kind with which Norwegians are familiar. Negotiations to this end are now going forward with Secretary General Lie.

Initially the Norwegians plan to spend about 20,000,000 kroner (approximately \$3,000,000) on the project, half of which would be supplied by the state and half by popular subscription. In an absolute sense, this is not a large sum, but for Norway—struggling with financial problems left from the German occupation—it is a great deal. It is fifty times as much as Norway is now called upon to contribute annually, on a *pro rata* basis, to the United Nations technical assistance fund.

Supporters of the plan have no doubt that the Norwegian people will accept their share of the financial burden. "I spent a good deal of last winter lecturing throughout the country on technical assistance," said Haakon Lie, secretary of the Norwegian Labor Party. "This project has aroused more popular interest than anything since the campaigns in behalf of Finland and Republican Spain."

Another of the plan's sponsors, P. Mentsen, vice president of the Norwegian Trade Union Council, said recently:

We consider the assistance for underdeveloped areas a very important part of our defense preparations. To abolish poverty and misery is the best kind of defense.

The Norwegians are a realistic people and they know exactly how far their very modest \$3,000,000 could be made to go. Obviously they are hoping that their action will set an example for other countries to follow. Only in such a case would their own action be given real meaning in terms of the world's needs. And in this connection they are aware that their own Little Point Four has been fashioned in the spirit of a policy long advocated in the United States by such men as Justice William O. Douglas.

ERLING BJOL is a well-known Danish journalist.

Steelworkers Will Fight

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Philadelphia

THE most striking fact about the sixth biennial convention of the United Steelworkers here was the apparently unshakable confidence of the delegates that, whatever their difficulties of the moment, they would eventually win their wage fight with the steel companies.

The business of this convention was to serve notice on a hostile press, a hostile Congress, the hostile steel companies, a perhaps hostile Supreme Court, that steel workers were not going to be kicked around indefinitely, that they would not work indefinitely in 1952 "for 1950 wages," that if necessary they would strike the basic steel industry harder and faster than ever before whenever their freedom of action was restored.

American union members are, by and large, an orderly group, respectful of constituted authority. Contrary to Arthur Krock's dreary misstatement in the *New York Times*, the convention did not "threaten to strike while the Supreme Court is weighing the seizure of the industry." Not a syllable embodying such a threat was uttered in the Convention Hall.

Every speech by a leader or delegate acknowledged that legal issues were pending which made a strike temporarily impossible. The emphasis was on what would happen after the high court rules on the disputed question of Truman's seizure powers. Let the decision be adverse, let the court rule that the seizure is illegal, and the union's position is clear. If steel workers are not, even in theory, "working for the United States," then they have a right to strike—and strike they will unless they get a satisfactory contract.

The issue, as the steel workers see it, is simple. They abided by all the ground rules set up to moderate industrial disputes, to check protracted work stoppages during the period of Korean fighting and remobilization. They submitted their wage and security demands to the umpire named by the government. The steel companies also accepted the umpire's jurisdiction and argued their case. But when the decision came down, and the companies did not like it, they shouted, "Kill the umpire."

Congress, it seems clear, is in the process of obediently killing the umpire—the Wage Stabilization Board's authority to make recommendations in disputed cases.

The delegates aren't lawyers and they have no desire to abandon permanently their cherished system of collective bargaining and see their interests subordinated to

rulings of government boards. But they are well aware that "precedents" for seizure as a weapon against unions already exist. They know that they may still be "Taft-Hartleyized" and enjoined from a strike for 80 days. They know that the coal mines were seized by Truman in 1946, that the United Mine Workers were enjoined from striking and fined for contempt for disobeying the injunction. They know that as long ago as 1941—before we were at war and in the absence of a statute—Roosevelt broke a strike by using troops to shatter a picket line and seize an airplane plant.

What the steel workers' convention wanted to know was whether seizure as a weapon is always and exclusively to be used against unions, to keep them from striking for higher wages, or whether seizure can also be enforced against management trying to keep wages down or force prices up. Patiently waiting for the Supreme Court, the delegates were by no means disheartened by the union's position. They remembered that in 1950 the mine workers found a way to beat even Taft-Hartley by individually refusing to work despite union orders in obedience to an injunction. The steel workers have complete confidence in the strength and integrity of their own union.

Clarence Randall, president of Inland Steel Company, a few weeks ago charged on the air that the steel recommendations resulted from "a corrupt political deal" between Murray and President Truman. Nothing in recent years has so infuriated Murray, a mild-mannered gentleman whose tongue can nevertheless scorch the angels when his anger is aroused. Murray grimly told the convention that at the White House a few days earlier, he had asked Randall to repeat this charge to his face. Murray quoted Randall as replying, "I did not say that about you, Phil. I think you are a good citizen, and I cannot charge you, I never did charge you, with any kind of corrupt deal."

Randall might have been disagreeably impressed with evidence in the convention that the pro-Republican steel managements had blundered politically in this struggle, that Truman's personal prestige had skyrocketed, that the magnetic attraction of the Democratic Party for large groups of workers had been restored and strengthened just at a moment when it seemed to be breaking down.

Speakers included Vice-President Barkley, Secretary of Labor Tobin, Senator Humphrey of Minnesota, all stalwart Democrats. Without exception they endorsed the union's fight for the wages and working conditions recommended by the WSB.

WILLARD SHELTON, veteran Washington correspondent, is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

GOD, MAN, AND STALIN

BY IRVING HOWE

THAT Whittaker Chambers told the truth and Alger Hiss did not, seems to me highly probable. Personal tragedy though their confrontation was, it had another, almost abstract quality: the political course of the 'thirties made it inevitable that, quite apart from this well-groomed man and that unkempt one, there be a clash between two men, one a liberal who was recruited from the idealistic wing of public service, the other a former Communist who repudiated his past and then, as "Witness"* testifies, swung to the politics of the far right. If not these two, then two others; if not their shapes and accents, other shapes and accents. And that is why most of the journalistic speculation on their personalities proved so ephemeral: for what did it finally matter whether Hiss was a likable man or Chambers an overwrought one? what did it matter when at stake was the commitment of those popular-front liberals who had persisted in treating Stalinism as an accepted part of "the Left"? and why should serious people have puzzled for long over the private motives of Chambers or Hiss when Stalinism itself remained to be studied and analyzed?

Now Chambers has told his story and put down his ideas. "Witness" is a fascinating grab-bag: autobiography, account of underground work, religious tract, attempt at an explanation of Stalinism. As confession, it has an almost classical stature: whatever opinions Chambers may now superimpose on his memory, the narrative itself demands the attention of anyone interested in modern politics. As autobiography, the book is embarrassing: Chambers' memoir of his family seems a needless act of masochism while the portrait of his adult self suggests a man whose total sincerity is uncomplicated by humor, irony, or persuasive humility.

The most remarkable fact about "Wit-

ness" is that as a work of ideas it should be so ragged and patchy. In all its 800 pages there is hardly a sustained passage of, say, five thousand words devoted to a serious development of thought; everything breaks down into sermon, reminiscence, self-mortification, and self-justification. Service in the G. P. U. is not, to be sure, the best training for the life of the mind; but there is something in Chambers' flair for intellectual melodrama that seems particular to our time and to the kind of personality always hungry for absolutes of faith. Writes Chambers: "I was not seeking ethics; I was seeking God. My need was to be a practising Christian in the same sense that I had been a practising Communist." A little time spent in "seeking ethics" or even a breather from "seeking" anything, might seem to have been in order.

The world, as Chambers sees it, is split between those who acknowledge the primacy of God and those who assert the primacy of man; from this fundamental division follows a struggle between morality and murder, with communism merely the final version of the rationalist heresy; and the one hope for the world is a return to Christian virtue, the ethic of mercy. These views Chambers announces with an air of abject righteousness. Indifferent to the caution that the sin of pride takes no more extreme form than a belief in God as one's personal *deus ex machina*, he several times acknowledges a Mover at his elbow and declares the appointment of Thomas Murphy as government prosecutor in the Hiss case to be evidence that "It pleased God to have in readiness a man." From "Witness" an unsympathetic reader might, in fact, conclude that God spent the past several years as a special aid to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In reading this book one is nonplussed by the way its polemics violate

its declared values. A few illustrations may suggest the quality of Chambers' thought:

Again and again he declares himself interested in presenting the facts. Without questioning his personal story, I must doubt his capacity as historian and social observer. It is not true that Trotsky "led in person" the Bolshevik troops that suppressed the Kronstadt rebellion. It is not true that "Lenin gave up listening to music because of the emotional havoc it played with him"; the man merely said, if Gorky's report of a casual remark be credited, that music made him want to stroke heads at a time when he felt it necessary to make revolutions. It is not true that "Communists are *invariably* as prurient as gutter urchins." It is an exaggeration to say that in the 1927 faction fight in the United States Communist Party, dirty as it was, each side "prompted scandalous whispering campaigns, in which embezzlement of party money, homosexuality, and stool pigeon were the *preferred* whispers." And it is a wild exaggeration to assert that the Communist agents in Washington, dangerous as they were, "if only in prompting the triumph of of communism in China, have *decisively* changed the history of Asia, of the United States, and therefore, of *the entire world* (italics mine—I. H.)." Mao, alas, recruited his armies in the valley of Yen-an, not the bars of Washington.

Chambers' extreme political turn has dizzied his historical sense. By noting that Alger Hiss was counsel for the Nye committee during the 'thirties, he tries to discredit its exposure of the munitions industry. "The penetration of the United States government by the Communist Party," adds Chambers, "coincided with a mood in the nation which light-heartedly baited the men who manufactured the armaments indispensable to its defense as 'Merchants of Death.'"

* Random House, \$5.

But surely more was involved: the Nye committee revealed that some arms manufacturers had not hesitated to sell in bulk to Hitler, that their profits had been unconscionably high, that some had pressured both sides in the Chaco to buy their products and thus to prolong the war. The truth of these disclosures does not depend on whether Hiss was counsel for the committee that made them.

Chambers complains bitterly, and with justice, about the smears he has suffered from many Hiss supporters. Unfortunately, he is not himself above the use of similar methods. One of Hiss's attorneys was Harold Rosenwald, about whose face Chambers darkly pronounces: "I had seen dozens much like it in my time." The notion that people can be "placed" politically by the shape of their faces, is both preposterous and, at least in this century, sinister. It may be that Rosenwald does hold the political views Chambers hints at, but this attribution must seem completely shabby when it rests on nothing more than the fact that Rosenwald worked for O. John Rogge in the Attorney General's office and that Rogge "is now the legal representative of the Tito government."

In the course of breaking away from Stalinism, Chambers came to feel that "it is just as evil to kill the Czar and his family . . . as it is to starve two million peasants or slave laborers to death." What, if anything, does this highly charged statement mean? Coming from a pacifist, it would be perfectly clear, for it would suggest that killing is forbidden under any circumstances. We might then hope to hear as a sequel that "It is just as evil to kill 60,000 civilians in Hiroshima as it was to kill the Czar and his family." But Chambers is not a pacifist, he is willing to "struggle against [communism] by all means, including arms." So the evil of killing the Czar cannot for him be simply that it was a killing, but must be that it was an *unjustified* killing—which leaves him with the moral enormity: "Several unjustified killings are just as evil as two million unjustified killings."

Throughout the book Chambers praises the Christian virtues of humility and meekness. Unfortunately, this credo does not prevent him from declaring "the left-wing intellectuals of almost every feather" to have been Hiss sup-

porters and then from calling them "puffins, skimmers, skuas, and boobies." These delicate designations prompt one to remind Chambers that a good many "left-wing intellectuals" of one or another feather—those who truly deserved to be called "left" and "intellectual"—fought a minority battle against Stalinism at a time when both he and Hiss were at the service of Messrs. Yagoda and Yezhov.

WHAT IS STALINISM? It is evil, declares Chambers; a proposition neither disputable nor enlightening. Nowhere in his 800 pages does he attempt sustained definition or description, nowhere does he bound the shape of the evil. He seems unconcerned to examine the workings of Russian society, the social rule of the Western Stalinist parties, the relations of the Asian parties to native nationalism. And with good reason. If you believe that the two great camps of the world prepare for battle under the banners, Faith in Man and Faith in God, what is the point of close study and fine distinctions? You need only sound the trumpets.

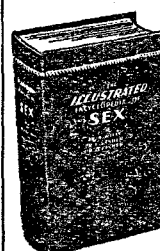
Almost unwittingly, Chambers moves toward the view that the source of our troubles is the Enlightenment: "The crisis of the Western world exists to the degree in which it is indifferent to God." The French Revolution becomes the villain of history, its progeny every godless society of our time. Chambers accepts, of course, the common, crude identification of Stalin's totalitarianism with Lenin's revolutionary state; both seem to him forms of fascism; the New Deal was a social revolution which crippled "the power of business"; and the motto of "the welfare state" is best expressed by his former associate, Colonel Bykov: "Who pays is boss, and who takes money must also give something." Everyone might thus be lumped together: Voltaire, Jefferson, Lenin, Roosevelt, Hitler, Stalin; not all equally evil, but all, apparently, "indifferent to God." A man who thinks in such patterns can hardly be expected to notice—or have much reason to care—that Stalinism and fascism, while symmetrical in their political devices, have different historical origins, class structures, political ideologies, and social rationales. Or that the Keynesian measures of the New Deal, far from constituting a revo-

lution, proved a crutch for a stumbling capitalism.

Chambers' approach to history rests, finally, on no social theory at all; it is a return to Manichean demonology. Since for him everything depends on whether one takes God or man to be primary, he can write that "as Communists, Stalin and the Stalinists were absolutely justified in making the Purge. From a Communist point of view, Stalin could have taken no other course. . . . In that fact lay the evidence that communism is absolutely evil. The human horror was

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not evil, it was the sad consequence of evil." The first two of these sentences are historically false: various Communists opposed the purge and proposed other courses of action, among them the removal of Stalin from power. The last sentence is shocking in its moral callousness. In effect, Chambers is saying that those of us who attack Stalinism for its inhumanity are sentimental, lacking in his austere disdain for what he calls "formless good will." Is it, however, more important to attack Stalin for disbelieving in the primacy of God than for killing millions of men? If the killing is to be regarded as a mere "consequence" of first principles, specific moral criticism of it can only seem superficial. But, in fact, the purges were the result of a decision by men in power, a decision for which they must be held responsible. A society is to be judged less by its philosophical premise about God and man, if it has any, than by its actual treatment of men; "the human horror of the purge" was evil, not merely "sad." What matters is not the devil's metaphysics, but his morals.

Chambers' major insight into the problem of Stalinism—and an acute one—is his insistence that in this era of permanent crisis it provides a faith, a challenge, even an ideal. Feeding on crisis, Stalinism offers a vision. "The vision inspires. The crisis impels. The workingman is chiefly moved by the crisis. The educated man is chiefly moved by the vision." This is an important observation and a necessary corrective to vulgar theories which make of Stalinism mainly an atavistic drive for power. But Chambers, ignoring the fact that the vision of Stalinism is corrupt, treats it as if it were a revolutionary movement in the Marxist sense. He takes it as a legitimate form of socialism, and pays slight attention to the counter-revolution that occurred in Russia during the very years he was underground.

Is this an academic matter? Not at all; for the essence of Stalinism, in its Russian form, is that it rests on a new kind of bureaucratic ruling class which engaged in "primitive accumulation" by destroying the revolutionary generation and appropriating to itself total economic and political power. Outside of Russia, Stalinism utilizes the socialist tradition of Europe and the nationalist sentiment of Asia for its domestic class

needs and international power maneuvers. A unique blend of reactionary and pseudo-revolutionary appeals, Stalinism attracts, in this age of crisis and decay, all those who feel the world must be changed but lack the understanding or energy to change it in a libertarian direction. Dynamic but not progressive, anti-capitalist but not socialist, Stalinism causes, in the words of Marx, all the old crap to rise to the top; under its domination, the best impulses of modern man are directed toward the worst consequences. And the problem for the historian is to determine precisely the blend of seemingly contradictory elements that Stalinism comprises.

Chambers himself provides an anecdote which dramatically confirms these remarks. His boss in the underground, Colonel Bykov, was a perfect specimen of the new Stalinist man, the Gletkin type: coarse, obedient, unintellectual, brutal. To Bykov "the generation that had made the Revolution . . . seemed as alien and preposterous . . . as foreigners. They belonged to another species and he talked about them the way people talk about the beastly or amusing habits of cows or pigs." So disgusting was Bykov that Chambers felt, before introducing him to Hiss, that he would have to apologize for the Russian. Yet, after a brief conversation, Hiss found Bykov "impressive." Why? I would guess that it was the attraction of an extreme bureaucratic personality for a mild bureaucratic personality, of one man who instinctively scorned the masses of people for another who had been trained to think of them as objects for benevolent manipulation. If Hiss had possessed a trace of revolutionary or liberal spirit, he would have shuddered at the sight of Bykov, he would have seen on Bykov's hands the blood of Bukharin and Tomsky and thousands upon thousands of others.

Where will Chambers go? His strength lies in a recognition that we live in an extreme situation; he agrees that "it is necessary to change the world." No longer a radical, scornful of liberals, convinced that "in the struggle against communism the conservative is all but helpless," he accepts, formally, the position of those reactionaries *manqués* who edit the *Freeman*. But only formally; for unlike them, he is drenched with the consciousness of crisis, he has none

of their complacency, he continues a disturbed and dissatisfied man, given to extreme gestures and ultimate statements. What remains? Only the fact that estranged personality and reactionary opinion form an explosive mixture.

In his final sentence Chambers hints that he believes a third world war both inevitable and necessary. Yet he yearns for some spiritual reformation, a turn to God. What likelihood there is that spiritual or any other desired values would survive in a world-wide atomic war, he does not discuss. Would there, in any case, be much point in reminding him that religious faith has rarely prevented despots from being despotic? that many of our most precious concepts of liberty are the work of skeptics? that Stalinism thrives in pious Rome as in worldly Paris? that it wins supporters in an Orient which has not known a loss of religious faith comparable to that of the West? that if Stalin is an atheist, Franco is a believer? that the priests in Russia pray for Stalin as in Germany they prayed for Hitler?

Very little point, I fear; little more than to have told him during the 'thirties that Stalinism was betraying the German workers to Hitler or by its trials and purges murdering thousands of innocent people. Those who abandon a father below are all too ready for a father above. But this shift of faith does not remove the gnawing problems which, if left unsolved, will drive still more people to Stalinism; it gives the opponents of the totalitarian state no strategy, no program with which to remake the world; it makes our situation appear even more desperate than it already is. For if Chambers is right in believing the major bulwark against Stalin to be faith in God, then it is time for men of conviction and courage to take to the hills.

Close-up of Boswell

BOSWELL IN HOLLAND, 1763-1764. Edited by Frederick A. Pottle. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$6.

THIS is the second volume of the popular or "reader's" edition of the Boswell papers which will later be paralleled by a complete, more heavily annotated edition to consist ultimately of at least thirty volumes. It takes up the story where "The London Journal"

left off and it covers that period from August, 1763, to June, 1764, during which Boswell was attempting to follow his father's wishes by studying law at Utrecht. The supplementary correspondence with "Zélide" had appeared previously in the now unobtainable "Private Papers" issued in 1928. Most of the rest of the material is new and presents us with an important addition to the vast Boswell saga.

Readers should perhaps be warned that the form is entirely different from that of "The London Journal." The latter was an artful narrative carefully worked up by the author as though intended for publication. The corresponding journal of the Dutch period was lost in Boswell's own time and what has survived is the collection of letters, practice themes, and brief diary jottings from which the lost journal was no doubt rewritten. Nevertheless its interest, though different, is hardly less great. It brings us closer to the man himself because it is more unguarded if not more frank.

Boswell had left London with a heavy heart bound for a country where he promised himself no pleasure and for studies which did not interest him. He obediently attended the law lectures and, in accordance with what was also his father's desire, introduced himself to Dutch society. Partly because of Johnson's influence he was determined to discipline himself and in the process he exhibited a determination and a fortitude of which one would hardly have believed him capable. Here, one might almost say, is Boswell trying to be someone else and all but succeeding outwardly if not inside. He flirted decorously with both Zélide and with a rich widow but he was sober and hard working. He rose usually at six and besides attending the law lectures he read methodically in Latin and Greek, learning some Dutch, practiced composition in French, and came as close as so irrepressible and ebullient a man could come to turning himself into a grind.

Most of the diary is written in the second person even when its substance is narrative. "Yesterday you did perfectly well. You read much Greek and finished 'The Anabasis.'—You was quite genteel and gay at Assembly—But you talked rather too much. Have a care of being *étourdi*." In addition there are

hundreds of admonitory injunctions written to remind him of what he had resolved to do or not to do. "Be *retenue*" is the refrain and there was, of course, nothing more contrary to his nature. "Have real principles. You have acquired a noble character at Utrecht. Maintain it." Or again, "Remember Johnson."

Obviously Boswell had more of what is called "strength of character" than he is commonly credited with, but the moral of the diary remains nevertheless dubious since he may have paid a terrible penalty for the determined attempt to go against his nature. Again and again he was seized by fits of melancholy so obviously genuine as to remove any suspicion that they were part of a pose. And as he himself came more and more to suppose, they may have been connected with the denial of strong impulses, including, of course, those of his frantic sexuality. Even in London he had failed to achieve his ambition to form a liaison with a woman of fashion, but he had ranged widely among prostitutes of every class including the very lowest. In Holland he was determined—from motives which included prudence, the opinion of Johnson, and religious scruples—to permit himself no indulgences and the serio-comic history of his struggles with himself runs through the entire volume. "Go to Amsterdam," he wrote once, "and try Dutch girl Friday, and see what moderate Venus will do." But it is not clear that he did "go to Amsterdam" and when, on another occasion, he wrote "No whoring except" the last word is struck through with a pen as though to say "No exceptions." Boswell had many gifts but what religious writers sometimes call "the gift of chastity" was not

among them. Since he was by now what he believed to be "a rational Christian" religious principles were important and he was already debating with himself those questions which, as readers of the "Life of Samuel Johnson" will remember, he could not keep out of conversations with the great Cham himself. The example of the patriarchs was a heartening fact but not, he seemed to feel, absolutely conclusive. "Does God forbid girls?" he asks himself on one occasion, and again, more confidently, "Con-

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cubinage is no dire sin." But then, on the other hand, there was the question of what prudence denied even if God did not. "Never do it unless some very extraordinary opportunity of fresh girl that can do no harm; and such a case is impossible"; "Hahn pronounced gravely: No metaphysics, plain common sense. No claps. Women are necessary when one has become accustomed, or retention will influence the brain."

Perhaps in Boswell's case it really did. At least the melancholy, whatever its cause, was genuine enough. In fact the whole of this journal has the effect of increasing one's opinion of the strength and the sincerity of Boswell's character. No other available document makes him appear less dandiacal and less complacent, more deeply troubled and sternly resolute.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

The Symbolical Apple

DOTING. By Henry Green. The Viking Press. \$3.

HENRY GREEN'S new novel, written almost entirely in dialogue, is a comedy of manners of the amorous chivvying of five characters, three of them middle-aged and two young, and all of them ordinary, average, unimportant. They don't want doting and they do want loving, but they are not

sure which is which, any more than Annabel, a young girl (through no fault of her own) with urgent needs (she hopes) who keeps saying in her helpless search for experience that she is "expendable," knows what she means by the word.

Annabel is expendable; loving, in the usual approximate way, wins out; marriage wins out in the usual proximate way—and all for the wrong reasons. Charles, the friend of the family, finds himself unaccountably choosing married love with Claire (whom he wanted only for doting) when during the course of the very amusing closing scene in a night club he gets drunk enough to see the dreary bickerings of the married couple who give the party as a vision of marital happiness.

The comedy arises from the lack of self-knowledge of the characters whom the reader, who is both one of the characters and the stranger who observes them, gets to know only a little better than they know themselves. The comedy is double-edged, for really no one can know anybody, and nothing ever happens—from the first sentence: "Pretty squalid play all around I thought!" to the last: "The next day they all went on very much the same."

There is nothing in "Doting" that Mr. Green has not done better before. Unlike his other novels, at least in

degree, "Doting" creates no "gathering web of insinuations" which should, as he has stated, "slowly appeal to feelings unexpressed." The comedy dissolves most of the feelings, and those left over fail to spin out into the endless webs of the other novels in which apparent meaninglessness reaches out into insinuations of order and meaning, into intimations of the mystery of feeling that, transcending knowledge, can never be, must be, and somehow is inexplicably expressed.

"Doting" is significant in the development of a novelist who from the first has been obsessed with the conflict between the reality of the objective world and the unreality, the unknowableness, of the subjective world. Mr. Green wants to present the characters in "Doting" with the least possible intrusion on his part, to let them be as they are, almost as if they were objects—the literary equivalent of Cézanne's apples. The danger "Doting" fails entirely to circumvent is that Mr. Green's respect for the object and distrust of feeling—which he sees as the danger but without which the apples are only apples—may produce characters whose "unexpressed" feelings remain unexpressed.

To compare Henry Green's characters with those of Henry James is to take the measure of more than a change in literary style. James's characters, those knowing protagonists of their fate, progress from ignorance to self-knowledge through a disciplined accommodation to alien and external reality. Mr. Green's characters know nothing about themselves, and what they do know is wrong; they say only what they do not mean or feel. They never change, and if they end up happy, as they often do, it is almost in spite of themselves. They destroy the whole fiction of self-knowledge. Only the external world, and as part of it, instinctive impersonal human nature, is real. All the rest is unreal, the created, the symbolical apple. "Only crazy for what I haven't got," says one of the characters in "Party Going," "like any drowning, starving man."

H. P. LAZARUS

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Records

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RCA VICTOR has issued a recording of Toscanini's broadcast of "La Bohème" in February, 1946. Not even Toscanini's performance could induce me to listen to the tear-jerking third and fourth acts then or now; but I can report remarkably clear and agreeable-sounding reproduction of his performance of the first two acts—wonderful in its buoyancy, animation, and gaiety, its plastic continuity and coherence, its precise gearing of the N. B. C. Symphony's playing with the superlative singing of Albanese, Pearce, and others of the excellent cast.

Columbia gives us on one record only a few arias and duets from Verdi's "Otello"—some, but not all, of the most beautiful and effective passages in what seems to me Verdi's finest opera. Steber's singing is very beautiful except for a shrill high note or two in the third-act duet (she should rid her Italian of its sharp American t); Vinay's also is excellent for the most part; Guarera hasn't sufficient weight of voice in the Credo (this aria, incidentally, is for me Verdi's one failure in the opera—a failure, that is, as a musical embodiment of the ideas of the text), but is very fine in his duet with Vinay; and the singers are effectively supported by the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Cleve's direction. In the first-act duet the singers seem too close to the microphone for proper balance with the orchestra, and distinctness is carried to the point of unpleasant sharpness which requires reduction of treble to minimum; elsewhere the sound is good, though the orchestra lacks luster. If Columbia had issued the entire opera it would have provided the entire text; but it issues these passages without the words one needs to follow the development of the music, and with a synopsis that ranges from inadequate to inaccurate. I should mention that the Willow Song and *Ave Maria* were issued a year or so ago on Steber's record of Verdi arias.

Another Columbia record is devoted to the magnificent singing of the bass-baritone George London in a beautiful

aria from Borodin's "Prince Igor" and less valuable excerpts from Rubinstein's "The Demon," Massenet's "Don Quichotte" (with Rosalind Nadell, mezzo-soprano), and Paladilhe's "Patrie." The Metropolitan Opera Orchestra is conducted by Kurt Adler and Jean Morel. Again treble must be reduced; and again there are no texts.

A similar Urania record devoted to the singing of the late Maria Cebotari gives us, in effect, three soprano voices. In what I would say is an over-impassioned performance of *Deh vieni, non tarder* from "Figaro" (in German) we hear a beautiful voice of remarkable amplitude; in *Martern aller Arten* from "The Seraglio" we hear a less voluminous voice of astonishing accuracy and brilliance in the florid passages and high notes; in the final scene of "Salome" this thinner voice is often tremulously shrill (the duet from "Madama Butterfly" with the tenor Walter Ludwig I didn't listen to). Artur Rother conducts the orchestra of Radio Berlin—not too effectively in the introduction to *Martern aller Arten*—and changes the end of the "Salome" excerpt. Treble must be stepped up for the "Figaro" recording and reduced for the others; bass must be stepped up for the "Salome" recording, which acquires a hash of high-frequency distortion. Again no texts.

As for Urania's recording of Dvorak's opera "Rusalka," it has some engaging arias separated by long stretches of less interesting material. The Dresden Opera performance is excellent and well reproduced.

Re dell' abisso from "The Masked Ball" is well sung by Cloe Elmo on a Victor 45, with an aria from "La Gioconda." Morel conducts a Victor orchestra.

Haydn's *Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida* (1796), which has been issued by the Haydn Society, turns out to be an impressive work not only in its vigorous and joyous passages, like the *et vitam venturi*, but especially in the slow and quiet ones, like the *Gratias agimus* and *Crucifixus*. And there is fine singing by the Copenhagen Boys' and Mens' Choir with the Danish Royal Opera Orchestra in the well-paced performance conducted by Mogens Wöldike.

Columbia offers Steber's beautiful singing in *I Know that My Redeemer*

Liveth from Handel's "Messiah," *With Verdure Clad* from Haydn's "The Creation," and other arias by Bach and Mendelssohn. Max Rudolf conducts the orchestra.

On another Columbia record are sixteenth- and seventeenth-century madrigals—many of them very lovely, and one by Gesualdo very strange in its unusual harmonic progressions—well sung by the Renaissance Singers under Lehman Engel's direction. Mr. Engel informs us on the envelope that "most of the music is minutely illustrative of the text," which is "poetry . . . of an enormously high order"; yet the texts are not provided—and they are not intelligible as sung. The recorded sound coarsens near the end of the second side.

Some fine examples of secular and sacred music of the sixteenth century are beautifully sung by the Robert Shaw Chorale on a Victor record. Again no texts.

And Columbia has issued an LP dubbing of its old recording of the excellent performance by Lyons musicians of Fauré's lovely and moving Requiem. The sound is good except for some strident fortes of the chorus.

CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING HOWE has begun work on a history of the American Communist Party. He will publish a book on William Faulkner in July.

H. P. LAZARUS is a member of the English Department of Temple University.

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Letters to the Editors

The Pechan Act

Dear Sirs: Pennsylvania's Loyalty act, the Pechan law, in its first two months of existence has had exactly the effect its opponents predicted. Two school teachers with impeccable records have resigned their positions rather than sign the oath. A public-assistance worker has also resigned.

Hans Blumenfeld, chief of Philadelphia's Division of Planning Analysis, took the oath and resigned in protest against "second-class citizenship."

Philadelphia's District Attorney, Richardson Dilworth, refused point-blank to take the oath, branding it an "outrageous" procedure resembling the methods of the Spanish Inquisition. Mayor Joseph S. Clarke, Jr., signed the oath but called it "nonsense" and "a lot of red tape."

Four young doctors and a nurse at Philadelphia General Hospital were reluctantly discharged by the hospital board for failure to sign. The board chairman, acting without option, called it a "worthless law," and eighty out of 106 staff interns and resident physicians denounced the law as "insidiously dangerous in its implications and profoundly undemocratic in its implementation."

A cheering development resulted from the recent primary elections. One Democratic state assemblyman from Philadelphia, Edward Conway, had been particularly active in securing the enactment of the Pechan law. An American Legion post commander, he had associated himself with the Legion's blustering lobby and had frightened a number of Democratic representatives from voting according to their convictions. A committee was formed of teachers residing in Conway's district for the purpose of defeating him in the primaries. By taking advantage of several good breaks, the teachers split the machine and gave Conway an impressive beating. The significant thing is that all his successful opponents (in a three-representative district) campaigned on the Pechan-law issue. One incumbent had voted against the law; the two newcomers promised to work for repeal. Thus, the Legion's threats to "get" every legislator opposed to the Pechan law backfired in at least one district.

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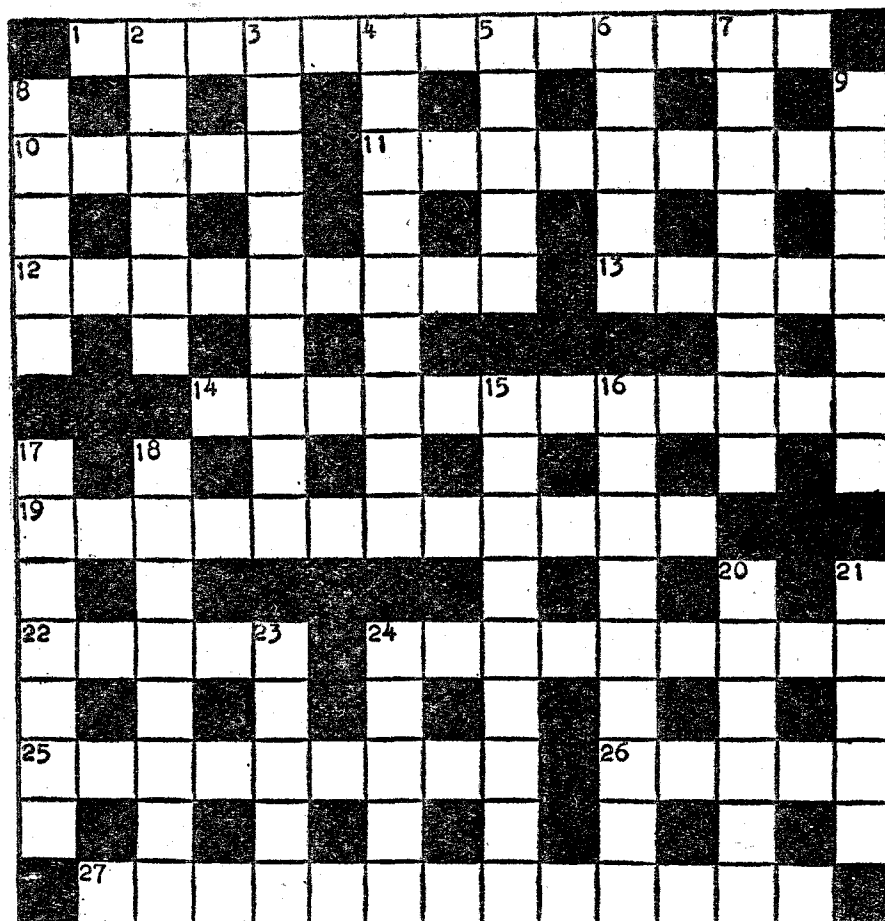
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Crossword Puzzle No. 466

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Cellar bedpost, for those who are on their toes. (5, 2, 6)
- 10 Charybdis personified this pool. (5)
- 11 A battle cape might be square. (9)
- 12 The reason for starving poets, if this is what they dish out! (4, 5)
- 13 The part of a lance which might lead to a vein. (5)
- 14 Are they flooded with extras in Hollywood? (12)
- 19 Something to argue about, when fond parents do. (5, 2, 5)
- 22 Those who run them live dangerously. (5)
- 24 The barter of a twisted yarn manufacturer. (4, 5)
- 25 Discharge the boss at the station, perhaps. (4, 5)
- 26 Would occur yearly if it weren't for a missing void. (5)
- 27 How to put your mother-in-law in a grave position with reciprocity? (13)

DOWN

- 2 Apostrophe to the organ made by the Lord Protector, perhaps. (6)
- 3 Meet, in part, to make the upper Slav safe. (4, 5)
- 4 Discourage a man, but not with soap! (9)

- 5 Are such girls indifferent to sable? (5)
- 6 Jumps out of 21. (5)
- 7 Such a rag never would fit a man who chases things. (8)
- 8 "_____ as a shadow, short as any dream." (M.N.D.) (5)
- 9 Did Luther, in favor of a trial? (7)
- 15 Authoritative, like the Louvre? (9)
- 16 You might need it for a gangster film—so get plastered! (9)
- 17 The first writing of United Press in the wind? (2-5)
- 18 Primitive race? (You've probably never seen such a picture before!) (5-3)
- 20 He makes money, and nothing else (worse luck)! (6)
- 21 A series of changes, perhaps. (5)
- 23 It forms close support to a wall. (5)
- 24 Brer Rabbit had such a patch. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 465

ACROSS:—1 BUFFO; 4 NARGHILES; 9 UNREFINED; 10 WIGHT; 11 DISCLOTH; 12 TOSTI; 13 SPATTERING; 14 INDONESIAN; 21 IN USE; 22 ENDOCRINE; 23 and 24 ON THE TELEPHONE; 25 FORETASTE; 26 and 1 down OUT OF BOUNDS.
DOWN:—2 FOREST; 3 OFFICE; 4 NON COMPOS MENTIS; 5 RED WHITE AND BLUE; 6 HOWITZER; 7 LOGISTIC; 8 SITTINGS; 14 HIT IT OFF; 15 ADJUSTER; 16 INTEREST; 18 SCIPPIO; 19 DIE OUT; 20 HEREOF.

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H. E. Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel to the United States

H. E. Ambassador L. N. Palar, permanent representative of Indonesia to the United Nations

Discussion

Afternoon Session—2 P.M.

Presiding: Dr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute

1. MILITARY BASES AND THE LOYALTY OF PEOPLES

Kingsley Martin, Editor, The New Statesman and Nation of London

Dr. Benjamin Rivlin, Professor of Political Science, Brooklyn College

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